

4 January 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR: General Cutler *card*  
The White House

FROM: Allen W. Dulles

I attach a memorandum with regard to pledges taken by Communist members. Also a reprint of the Communist Party Manual on Organization, published and circulated in 1935. Particularly see pages 104 and 105 of this pamphlet.

In countries such as the United States where the Communist Party has been driven underground the type of pledge or oath taken by Communist members is not clear-cut. Obviously the Party desires to avoid making available documentary or other evidence establishing Communist membership. In this respect the situation is very different than it was in 1935 when the enclosed Party Manual was published.

As the FBI may have additional information regarding the situation prevailing in the United States, as this is their special bailiwick, I am sending a copy of this letter and memorandum to them for any possible comment.

Encls.

AWD:at

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4 January 1954

VIA LIAISON

MEMORANDUM FOR: Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: Communist Party Oaths and Pledges

Pursuant to an urgent request received yesterday from General Cutler, I have sent him this morning the attached memorandum giving a brief survey of Communist Party practices with respect to oaths and pledges taken when joining the Party. While this memorandum is based largely upon practices abroad, it also refers to the situation in this country, and in this connection I have pointed out that this phase of the matter is particularly within the competence of the Bureau. Please see the attached copy of my covering letter to General Cutler.

Allen W. Dulles

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4 January 1954

1. Current practices of Communist Parties concerning oaths and pledges are briefly described below.

2. A person joining the Communist Party generally submits to the Party's statutory conditions for admission. These conditions include:

- a) Activity in an organizational unit;
- b) Payment of membership dues;
- c) Adherence to the decisions of the Party;
- d) Adherence to the discipline of the Party.

An excerpt from the 1953 statutes of the CP Norway is attached (A) as an illustration.

3. The act of affiliation is generally consummated through the issuance of a Party membership card at which time the person joining declares explicitly or implicitly his adherence to the Party statutes. In the case of secret Party membership the affiliation process is kept on a most confidential basis between the member and special administrative organs of the Party.

4. All statutes of Communist Parties set out in general policy terms the revolutionary aims of the Communist Party and its subservience to the USSR. Sections 2 and 3 of the statutes of CP Finland are attached (B) as an illustration.

5. Currently there is no evidence of any other special oaths or pledges made at the time of admission to the Party. The only available illustration to the contrary is represented by the pledge read by Earl Browder as Secretary General of the CP USA in 1935 to 2,000 workers who were initiated into the Party in the New York District in 1935. The pledge is attached under C.

6. Ceremonial pledges of Communist Party leaders have been given in the past. At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International at Moscow in 1935, delegates from the CPUSA, including

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some of the present leaders of the Party, took an oath of fealty, "To Comrade Stalin, leader, teacher, and friend of the proletariat and oppressed of the whole world" whom they assured that "the Communists will always and everywhere be faithful to the end and to the great and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin" and that "under this banner, Communism will triumph throughout the world."

(Source: Subversive Activities Control Board, 83rd Congress, Document #41, April 23, 1953)

7. Similarly, in February and March 1949 individual leaders and/or executive bodies of Communist Parties in France, Italy, Australia, Belgium, Argentina, Norway, England, Canada, Denmark, Mexico, U.S.A., Austria, Japan, Cuba, Uruguay and others, pledged that in case of war between the Soviet Union and their homelands the Communist Party would oppose this war and not fight against the Soviet Union.

8. These formalized pledges represent explicit re-statements of the basic allegiance of Communist Party leaders to the aims of world revolution.

9. At the World Youth Festival in Berlin, 5-19 August 1951, at the conclusion of the German Youth (FDJ) mass meeting, the German youth leader Honnecker recited a formal pledge to defend the peace camp and the Soviet Union, if necessary with arms. The attending crowd repeated the pledge.

10. We believe that the national and international Communist Party achieves control over its members and leaders through indoctrination and enforcement of discipline. During this process loyalty to the aims of world revolution is achieved. Special oaths and pledges represent only a small factor in this process.

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ATTACHMENT A

1. One can be a member of the Norwegian Communist Party who

a. accepts the Party's program, the Party lines and laws.

b. submits to the Party resolutions and works actively to accomplish the Party resolutions.

c. regularly pays the dues that are due from him according to his subscription class.

Each member should belong and work in one of the Party's basic units. All Party members who have the opportunity should be members of a trade union.

2. Application for membership is sought through one of the Party's basic units. The application takes place by filling out the Party's registration form and must be recommended by two of the Party members.

The application is handled by the Executive Committee of the Party unit and is submitted to a decision at the membership meeting. The final admittance into the Party unit takes place at a membership meeting where the new member is present.

An applicant who is denied admission is given the opportunity to appeal his case in the higher Party units.

The membership book is kept by the District Executive Committee which can overrule the Party units' resolution for accepting or re-entrance of a member.

Re-entrance of an earlier member must be immediately reported to the Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee can overrule a District Executive Committee's resolution on membership.

3. When moving to another Party unit's territory, the Party member must transfer his membership book to the Party unit concerned.

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ATTACHMENT B

Purpose of the Party

Section 2

The Finnish Communist Party is the furthestest advanced organized mass-section of the Finnish working class and the highest form of the class organization thereof, uniting likewise within its ranks the working peasantry and the elite of the educated classes.

The ideology of the Party shall be the proletarian class ideology, the Marxist-Leninist theory. Its activity shall be based on the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The immediate purpose of the Party shall be to lead the working class of our country, the working peasantry, and that section of the intellectual workers which is most aware of its position and its task, into the struggle for the democratization of our people's political, economic and cultural conditions, for the crushing of capitalism and for the creation, as the first step towards Communism, of a Socialist society where the exploiting classes and the exploitation of one man by another shall be abolished as shall also the differences among the working classes and whence development will lead to the second phase of Communism, perfected Communism.

Section 3

To accomplish its purposes the Party shall carry on an unwavering class struggle against capitalism and cultivate social enlightenment in order to win over to its side the majority of our people and thus attain the goal hereinbefore mentioned.

The Party shall carry out its mass activity by arranging meetings, demonstrations, lectures, and readings, by publishing newspapers and literature, and by engaging in publishing activity.

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**ATTACHMENT C**

"I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the Party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggle against fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparingly in the unions, in the shops, among the unemployed, to lead the struggles for the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim-Crowism and lynching, against the chauvinist lies of the ruling class. I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet Power in the United States."

Our Party application carries this declaration:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the C.I. and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

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5 January 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director, Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Communist Party - Oaths and Pledges  
(BRAZIL).

1. Reference is made to a Security Office memorandum dated 30 November 1953, subject "Communist Party - Oaths and Pledges" which was forwarded to you under separate cover.

2. In January 1951, the Communist Party of Brazil distributed to all Brazilian Communist cells a pamphlet in which was set forth the following oath to be taken by an accepted candidate, and which oath would make the candidate a member of the Party:

"I promise the most devoted loyalty and complete dedication to the sacred interests of the working class and the people. I promise, too, to work actively for the defense of democracy and for peace and the decisive downfall of fascism, for the disappearance of all forms of national oppression and exploitation of man, until socialism is established. With this objective I solemnly swear to remain faithful to the principles of the PCB; to fight to the extent of my ability, which I will always try to increase, for its (the PCB's) unity, and for its growth; to work tirelessly in the fulfillment of its program."

[Redacted Signature]

Shepard Edwards  
Director of Security

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4 January 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

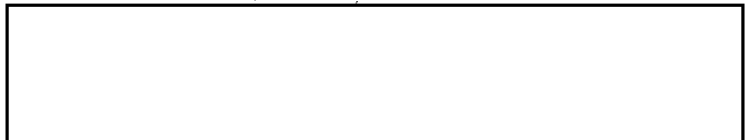
SUBJECT: Communist Oaths and Pledges--  
Memorandum of 4 January 1953.

1. After hurriedly completing reference memorandum, the attached item was discovered. It represents the oath of a candidate member made at admission to the Communist Party of Brazil.

2. You may wish to transmit the item as an addendum although it does not affect the general conclusions presented.

3. The attachment is Article 8 (eight) of the Statutes of CP Brazil distributed in January 1951 and was disseminated as

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Attachment

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ATTACHMENT

Art. 8. To become a member, the candidate must be proposed by a member who has been a militant member for at least a year. The proposal for admission, signed by the candidate and the person proposing him, will be introduced by the person proposing, to the cell to which he belongs for discussion and decision. The accepted candidate will be considered a member of the Party after he has repeated the following oath before the members of that group:

"I promise the most devoted loyalty and complete dedication to the sacred interests of the working class and the people. I promise, too, to work actively for the defense of democracy and for peace and the decisive downfall of fascism, for the disappearance of all forms of national oppression and exploitation of man, until socialism is established. With this objective I solemnly swear to remain faithful to the principles of the PCB; to fight to the extent of my ability, which I will always try to increase, for its (the PCB's) unity, and for its growth; to work tirelessly in the fulfillment of its program."

(Source: Statutes of CP Brazil, 1951).